SIR FRANCIS BACON HIS APOLOGIE, IN CERTAINE Imputations concerning the late *Earle of Essex.*

WRITTEN TO THE RIGHT Honorable his very good Lord, *the Earle of Deuonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE HIS VERIE GOOD LORD THE Earle of Deuonshire, Lord *Lieutenant of Ireland.*

IT may please your good Lordshippe; I cannot bee ignorant, and ought to bee sensible of the wrong which I sustaine in common speech, as if I had beene false, or vnthankfull to that noble, but vnfortunate Earle the Earle of *Essex*: and for satisfying the vulgar sort, I do not so much re-

gard it; though I loue a good name, but yet as an handmaid and attendant of honesty and vertue. For I am of his opinion that said pleasantly, *That it was a shame to him that was a suter to the Mistresse, to make loue to the wayting woman*; and therefore to woo or court common fame otherwise then it followeth vpon honest courses, I for my part, finde not my selfe fit nor disposed. But on the other side, there is no worldly thing that concerneth my selfe, which I hold more deare, then the good opinion of certaine persons; amongst which there is none I would more willingly giue satisfaction vnto, then to your Lordship. First, because you loued my Lord of *Essex*, and therefore will not be partiall towards me;

which is part of that I desire ; next, becauſe it hath euer pleaſed you to ſhow your ſelfe to mee an honorable friend ; and ſo no baſeneſſe in mee to ſeeke to ſatisfie you : and laſtly, becauſe I know your Lordſhipp is excellently grounded in the true rules and habits of duties and moralities ; which muſt bee they which ſhal decide this matter: wherin (my Lord) my defence needeth to be but ſimple and briefe: namely, that whatſoeuer I did concerning that action and proceeding, was done in my dutie and ſeruice to the Queene and the State ; in which I would not ſhow my ſelfe falſe hearted nor faint hearted for anie mans ſake liuing. For euery honeſt man, that hath his heart well planted, will

forsake his King rather then forsake God, and forsake his friend rather then forsake his King; and yet will forsake any earthly commodity, yea and his owne life in some cases, rather then forsake his friend. I hope the world hath not forgotten these degrees, else the heathen saying: *Amicus vsque ad aras*, shal iudge them. And if any man shall say, that I did officiously intrude my self into that businesse, because I had no ordinary place; the like may be said of all the businesse in effect that passed the hands of the learned counsell, either of State or Reuenues these many yeares, wherein I was continually vsed. For, as your Lordship may remember, the Queene knewe her strength so well as shee looked her

word

word should be a warrant, and after the manner of the choisest Princes before her, did not alwaies tye her trust to place, but did sometime deuide priuate fauour from office. And I for my part, though I was not so vnseene in the world, but I knewe the condition was subiect to enuie and peril, yet because I knew againe she was constant in her fauours, and made an end where shee began, and specially, because shee vpheld mee with extraordinarie accesse, and other demonstrations of confidence and grace, I resolued to endure it, in expectatiõ of beter. But my scope & desire is, that your Lordship would be pleased to haue the honourable patience, to know the truth in some particularity of al that passed in this

cause wherein I had any part, that you may perceiue howe honest a heart I euer bare to my Soueraigne and to my Countrey, & to that Noble man, who had so well deserued of mee, and so well accepted of my deseruings; whose fortune I cannot remember without much griefe. But for any action of mine towardes him, there is nothing that passed me in my life time, that cometh to my remembrance with more clearnesse and lesse checke of conscience: for it will appeare to your Lordship, that I was not onely not opposite to my Lord of *Essex*, but that I did occupy the vtmost of my wits, and aduenture my fortune with the Queene to haue reintegrated his; and so continued faithfully and industriously

till his last fatall impatience, (for so I will call it) after which day there was not time to worke for him, though the same my affection when it could not worke vpon the subiect proper, went to the next, with no ill effect towards some others, who I thinke do rather not know it, then not acknowledge it. And this I will assure your Lordshipp, I will leaue nothing vntold that is truth for anie enemie that I haue to adde; & on the other side, I must reserue much which makes for me, vpon manie respects of dutie, which I esteeme aboue my credit: and what I haue here sette downe to your Lordshipp, I protest, as I hope to haue any part in GODS fauour, is true.

It is wel knowne, how I did many

yeares since dedicate my trauels and studies to the vse & (as I may terme it) seruice of my Lord of *Essex* which I protest before God, I did not, making election of him as the likeliest meane of mine owne aduancement, but out of the humor of a man, that euer, from the time I had any vse of reason (whether it were reading vpon good bookes, or vpon the example of a good father, or by nature) I loued my countrie more then was answerable to my fortune, and I held at that time, my Lord to be the fitter instrument to doe good to the State: and therefore I applyed my selfe to him, in a manner which I thinke happeneth rarely amongst men: for I did not onely labour carefully and industriously in that he set

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me about, whether it were matter of aduice or otherwise, but neglecting the Queenes seruice, mine owne fortune, and in a sort my vocation, I did nothing but aduise and ruminate with my selfe to the best of my vnderstanding, propositions & memorials, of any thing that might concerne his Lordships honor, fortune, or seruice. And when not long after I entred into this course, my brother Maister *Anthony Bacon* came from beyond the seas, being a Gentleman whose abilitie the world taketh knowledge of for matters of State, specially forreine: I did likewise knit his seruice to be at my Lords disposing. And on the other side, I must & will euer acknowledge my Lords loue, trust, and fauour towards mee,

last of all his liberalitie, having in-feoffed me of land which I sold for eighteene hundred pounds to Maister *Reynold Nicholas*, and I thinke was more worth, and that at such a time and with so kind and noble circumstances, as the manner was as much as the matter: which though it bee but an idle digression, yet because I am not willing to be short in commemoration of his benefits, I will presume to trouble your Lordship with the relating to you the maner of it. after the Queene had denied me the Sollicitors place for the which his Lordship had bene a long and earnest sutor on my behalfe it pleased him to come to mee from *Richmond* to *Twicknam* Parke, and brake with me & said Maister *Bacon*, the

the Queene hath denied mee yon place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the least part of your owne matter, but, you fare ill because you haue chosen mee for your meane and dependance: you haue spent your time and thoughts in my matters; I die (these were his verie words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not denie to accept a peece of Land, which I will bestow vpon you. My answer I remember was, that for my fortune it was no great matter: but that his Lordships offer made me call to minde what was wont to be said when I was in *Fraunce* of the Duke of *Guise*, that he was the greatest vsurer in *Fraunce* because hee had turned all his estate into Obli-

gatious; meaning that hee had left himselfe nothing, but onely had bound numbers of persons to him. Now my Lord (said I) I would not haue you immitate his course, nor turne your state thus by great gifts into obligations, for you will find many bad debters. He bad me take no care for that, and presſed it: wherupon I said My Lord, I see I must be your homager, and hold land of your gifte: but doe you know the maner of doing homage in law? alwaies it is with a sauing of his faith to the King and his other Lords, and therefore my Lord (said I) I can be no more yours then I was, and it may bee with the ancient sauings: and if I grow to bee a rich man, you will giue me leaue to giue

it back to some of your vntewarded followers. But to returne, sure I am (though I can arrogate nothing to my selfe, but that I was a faithfull remembrance to his Lordship) that while I had most credit with him, his fortune went on best. And yet in two maine points we alwaies directly & contradictorily differed, which I will mention to your Lordship, because it giueth light to all that followed. The one was, I euer set this downe, that the onely course to bee held with the Queene, was by obsequiousnesse and obseruance; and I remember I would vsually gage cōfidently, that if hee would take that course constantly, and with choise of good particulars to expresse it, the Queene would bee brought in

time to *Assuerus* question, to aske, *What should be done to the man, that the king would honour*: meaning, that her goodnesse was without limite, where there was a true concurrence, which I knew in her nature to be true. My Lord on the other side had a setled opinion, that the Queene could be brought to nothing, but by a kinde of necessitie and authority; and I will remember, when by violent courses at any time hee had got his will he would aske me: Now Sir: *whose principles be true*? and I would againe say to him: *My Lord, these courses be like to hot waters, they will helpe at a pang: but if you vse the, you shall spoile the stomacke, and you shall be faine stil to make them stronger and stronger, and yet in the end they*

will

will leſſe their operation: with much other varietie, wherewith I vſed to touch that ſtring. Another point was that I alwaies vehemently diſſwaded him from ſeeking greatnes by a militarie dependance, or by a popular dependance, as that which would breed in the Queene iealouſie, in himſelfe preſumption, and in the State perturbation: and I did vſually compare them to *Icarus* two wings which were ioyned on with waxe, and would make him venture to ſoare too high, and then faile him at the height. And I would further ſay vnto him: My Lord, ſtand vpon two feet, & flie not vpon two wings. The two feet, are the two kinds of *Iuſtice*, Commutatiue and Diſtributiue: vſe your greatneſſe for

aduancing of merit and vertue, and releeuing wrongs and burdens, you ſhall need no other art or fineneſſe: but he would tell me, that opinion came not from my mind, but from my robe, But it is very true, that I that neuer meant to in-thral my ſelfe to my Lord of *Eſſex*, nor any other man, more thē ſtood with the publike good, did (though I could little preuaile) diuert him by al means poſſible from courſes of the warres and popularitie: for I ſaw plainely the Queene muſt either liue or die; if ſhe liued, then the times would be as in the declination of an old Prince, if ſhe died, the times would be as in the beginning of a new: and that if his Lordſhip did riſe too faſt in theſe courſes, the times might bee dan-

dangerous for him, and he for them. Nay, I remember I was thus plaine with him vpon his voyage to the Ilands, when I saw euery spring put foorth such actions of charge and prouocation, that I said to him My Lord, when I came first vnto you, I tooke you for a Phisition that desired to cure the diseases of the State, but now I doubt you will be like those Phisitions, which can be content to keepe their patients low, because they would alwaies be in request: which plainenesse he neuerthelesse tooke very well, as he had an excellent eare, and was *patientissimus veri*, and assured me the case of the Realme required it: and I thinke this speech of mine, and the like renewed afterwards, pricked

him to write that Apologie which is in many mens hands.

But this difference in two points so maine and materiall, bred in processe of time a discontinuance of priuateneſſe (as it is the manner of men seldom to cõmunicate where they thinke their courses not approued) between his Lordship and my selfe; so as I was not called nor aduised with, for some yeere and a halfe before his Lordships going into *Ireland* as in former time: yet neuerthe leſſ touching his going into *Ireland*, it pleased him expressly and in a set manner to desire mine opinion and counsell. At which time I did not onely dissuade, but protest against his going, telling him with as much vehemencie and asseueration

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as I could, that abſence in that kind would exulcerate the Queens mind whereby it would not bee poſſible for him to carrie himſelfe ſo, as to giue her ſufficient contentment: nor for her to carie her ſelfe ſo, as to giue him ſufficient countenance, which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the State. And becauſe I wold omit no argument, I remember I ſtood alſo vpon the difficultie of the action: ſetting before him out of Hiſtories, that the *Iriſh* was ſuch an enemie as the ancient *Gaules* or *Britons*, or *Germaines* were, and that we ſaw how the *Romans*, who had ſuch diſcipline to gouerne their ſouldiers, and ſuch donatiues to encourage thē, and the whole world in a maner to leauie them; yet when they came

to deale with enemies which placed their felicitie onely in libertie, and the ſharpneſſe of their ſword, and had the naturall and elementall aduantages of woods, and bogges, and hardneſſe of bodies, they euer found they had their hands full of them: and therefore concluded that going ouer with ſuch exſpectation as hee did, and through the churliſhneſſe of the enterpriſe not like to anſwere it, would mightily diminiſh his reputation; and many other reaſons I vſed, ſo as I am ſure I neuer in any thing in my life time dealt with him in like earneſtnes by ſpeech, by writing, and by all the meanes I could deuiſe. For I did as plainely ſee his ouerthrow chained as it were by deſtinie to that iourney, as it is poſsible for

for any man to ground a iudgment vpon future contingents. But my Lord, howsoeuer his eare was open, yet his heart and resolution was shut against that aduise, whereby his ruine might haue bin preuēted. After my Lords going, I saw how true a Prophet I was, in regard of the euident alteration which naturally succeeded in the Queens mind; and thereupon I was still in watch to find the best occasion that in the weakenesse of my power I could either take or minister, to pull him out of the fire if it had beene possible: and not long after, me thought I saw some ouerture there of, which I apprehended readily; a particularitie I thinke be knowne to very few, and the which I doe the rather relate to

your Lordſhip, becauſe I heare it ſhold be talked, that while my Lord was in *Ireland*, I reuealed ſome matter againſt him or I cannot tell what, which if it were not a meere ſlaunder as the reſt is, but had any though neuer ſo little colour, was ſurely vpō this occaſion. The Queene one day at *Noneſuch*, a little (as I remember) before *Cuffes* coming ouer, I attending her, ſhewed a paſſionate diſtaſt of my Lords proceedings in *Ireland*, as if they were vnfortunate, without iudgement, contemptuous, and not without ſome priuate end of his owne: and all that might be, and was pleaſed as ſhe ſpake of it to many that ſhe truſted leaſt, ſo to fall into the like ſpeech with me; whereupon I who was ſtill awake, and true

to my grounds which I thought fu-reſt for my Lords good, ſaid to this effect: Madame, I know not the particulars of Eſtate, and I know this, that Princes actions muſt haue no abrupt periods or concluſions, but otherwiſe I wold thinke, that if you had my Lord of *Eſſex* here with a white ſtaffe in his hand, as my Lord of *Leiceſter* had, and continued him ſtill about you for ſocietie to your ſelfe, and for an honour and ornament to your attendance and Court in the eyes of your people, & in the eyes of forraine Embaſſadors, then were he in his right element: for, to diſcontent him as you do, and yet to put armes and power into his hands, may be a kind of temptatiõ to make him proue cumberſome & vnruly.

And therefore if you would *imponere benam clauſulam*, and ſend for him and ſatisfie him with honour here neare you, if your affaires which (as I haue ſaid) I am not acquainted with, will permit it, I thinke were the beſt way. Which courſe your Lordſhip knoweth, if it had beene taken, then all had beene well, and no contempt in my Lords comming ouer, nor continuance of theſe iealouſies, which that employment of *Ireland* bred, and my Lord here in his former greatneſſe. Wel, the next newes that I heard, was, that my Lord was come ouer, and that he was committed to his chamber for leauing *Ireland* without the Queenes licence: this was at *Noneſuch*, where (as my duty was) I came to his Lordſhip

ſhip, & talked with him priuately about a quarter of an houre, and hee asked mine opinion of the courſe was taken with him; I told him: My Lord, *Nubecula eſt, cito tranſibit*: it is but a miſt: but ſhall I tell your Lordſhip, it is as miſts are, if it go vpwards, it may haps cauſe a ſhowre, if downewards, it will cleare vp. And therefore good my Lord carie it ſo as you take away by all meanes all ombrages and diſtaſts from the Queene, & eſpecially if I were worthie to aduiſe you, (as I haue beene by your ſelf thought, and now your queſtion imports the continuance of that opiniõ) obſerue three points: Firſt, make not this ceſſation or peace which is concluded with *Tyrone*, as a ſeruice wherein you glo-

rie, but as a ſhuffling vp of a pro-ſecution which was not very for-tunate. Next, repreſent not to the Queene any neceſſitie of e-ſtate, whereby as by a coercion or wrench, ſhe ſhould think her ſelf in-forced to ſend you back into *Ireland* but leaue it to her. Thirdly, ſeeke acceſſe *importune, oportune*, ſeriouſly, ſportingly euery way. I remember my Lord was willing to heare me, but ſpake very few words, & ſhaked his head ſometimes, as if he thought I was in the wrong; but ſure I am, he did iuſt cõtrary in euery one of theſe three points. After this, during the while ſince my Lord was cõmitted to my Lord Keepers, I came diuers times to the Queen, as I had vſed to do, about cauſes of her reuenue and

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law busineſſe, as is well knowne: by reaſon of which acceſſes, according to the ordinary charities of Court, it was giuē out, that I was one of them that incēſed the Queene againſt my Lord of *Eſſex*. Theſe ſpeeches I cannot tel, nor I will not thinke that they grew any way from her Maieſties owne ſpeeches, whoſe memory I wil euer honour: if they did, ſhe is with God, and *miſerum eſt ab illis lædi, de quibus non poſsis queri.* But I muſt giue this teſtimonie to my Lord *Cecill*, that one time in his houſe at the *Sauoy* he dealt with me directly, and ſaid to me; Couſin, I heare it, but I beleeue it not, that you ſhould do ſome ill office to my Lord of *Eſſex*: for my part I am meerely paſſiue & not actiue in this action, & I follow the

the Queene and that heauily, and I lead her not; my Lord of *Essex* is one that in nature I could consent with as well as with any one liuing; the Queen indeed is my Soueraigne, & I am her creature, I may not leese her, and the same course I wold wish you to take: whereupon I satisfied him how farre I was from any such mind. And as sometimes it cometh to passe, that mens inclinations are opened more in a toy, then in a serious matter: A little before that time, being about the middle of Michaelmas terme, her Maiestie had a purpose to dine at my lodge at *Twickn*ã Parke, at which time I had (though I professe not to be a Poet) prepared a Sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on her Maiesties recon-

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cilement to my Lord, which I reme-
ber alſo I ſhewed to a great perſon,
& one of my Lords neareſt friends,
who commended it: this, though it
be (as I ſaid) but a toy, yet it ſhewed
plainely in what ſpirit I proceeded,
and that I was ready not onely to do
my Lord good offices, but to publiſh
and declare my ſelf for him; and ne-
uer was ſo ambitious of any thing
in my life time, as I was to haue ca-
ried ſome token or fauour from her
Maieſtie to my Lord, vſing all the art
I had, both to procure her Maieſtie
to ſend, and my ſelfe to be the meſ-
ſenger: for as to the former, I feared
not to alleage to her, that this pro-
ceeding toward my Lord, was a
thing towards the people very im-
plauſible, and therefore wiſhed her

Maieſtie

Maieſtie howſoeuer ſhe did, yet to diſcharge her ſelfe of it; and to lay it vpon others, and therefore that ſhe ſhould intermixe her proceeding with ſome immediate graces from her ſelfe, that the world might take knowledge of her Princely nature and goodneſſe, leſt it ſhould alienate the hearts of her people from her. Which I did ſtand vpon, knowing very well, that if ſhe once relented to ſend or viſite, thoſe demonſtrations wold proue matter of ſubſtance for my Lords good. And to draw that employment vpon my ſelfe, I aduiſed her Maieſtie, that whenſoeuer God ſhould moue her to turne the light of her fauours towards my Lord, to make ſignification to him thereof: that her Maieſtie if ſhe did

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it not in perſon, would at the leaſt vſe ſome ſuch meane as might not intitle themſelues to any part of the thanks, as perſons that were thought mightie with her, to worke her, or to bring her about; but to vſe ſome ſuch as could not bee thought but a meere conduct of her owne goodneſſe: but I could neuer preuaile with her, though I am perſwaded ſhe ſaw plainely whereat I leuelled: but ſhee had me in iealouſie, that I was not hers intirely, but ſtill had inward and deepe reſpects towards my Lord, more then ſtood at that time with her will and pleaſure. About the ſame time I remember an anſwer of mine in a matter which had ſome affinitie with my Lordes cauſe, which though it grew from

me ; went after about in others names. For her Maiesty being mightily incensed with that booke which was dedicated to my Lord of *Essex*, being a story of the first yeere of king *Henry* the fourth ; thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the peoples heades boldnesse and faction, said, she had good opinion, that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawne within case of treason : whereto I answered ; for treason surely I found none, but for fellonie very many. And when her Maiestie hastily asked mee wherein; I told her, the Author had committed very apparant theft, for he had taken most of the sentences of *Cornelius Tacitus*, and translated them into

into English, and put them into his text. And another time when the Queene would not bee perswaded, that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischieuous Author, and said with great indignation, that shee would haue him racked to produce his Author, I replyed, Nay Madame, hee is a Doctor, neuer racke his person, but racke his stile; let him haue pen, ink, and paper, and helpe of bookes, and be enioyned to continue the storie where it breaketh off, and I will vndertake by collecting the stiles, to iudge whether he were the Author or no. But for the maine matter, sure I am, when the Queene at any time asked mine opinion of my Lords case, I euer in one tenor, said vnto

her: that they were faults which the Law might rearme Contempts, because they were the transgression of her particular directions and instructions: but then what defence might be made of them, in regard of the great interest the person had in her Maiesties fauour, in regard of the greatnesse of his place, and the ampleneſſe of his Commission; in regard of the nature of the businesse being action of warre, which in cõmon cases cannot bee tyed to strictneſſe of instructions, in regard of the distance of the place, hauing also a sea betweene, that demaunds and commands, must be subiect to wind and weather, in regard of a counsell of State in *Ireland* which hee had at his backe to auow his actions vpon,

and

and lastly in regard of a good intention that he would alleage for himselfe, which I told her in some religions was held to bee a sufficient dispensation for GODS commandements, much more for Princes. In all these regards, I besought her Maiestie to be aduised again and again, how she brought the cause into any publike question: nay, I went further, for I told her, my Lord was an eloquent and well spoken man, and besides his eloquence of nature or art, he had an eloquence of accident which passed them both, which was the pittie and beneuolence of his hearers; and therefore that when he should come to his answere for himselfe, I doubted his words would haue so vnequall passage aboue

theirs that should charge him, as would not be for her Maiesties honour; and therefore wished the conclusion might bee, that they might wrap it vp priuately betweene themselues, and that she wold restore my Lord to his former attendance, with some addition of honour to take away discontent. But this I will neuer deny, that I did shew no approbation generally of his being sent back againe into *Ireland*, both because it would haue caried a repugnancie with my former discourse, and because I was in mine owne heart fully perswaded, that it was not good neither for the Queene, nor for the State, nor for himselfe: and yet I did not dissuade it neither, but left it euer as *locus lubricus*. For this particu-

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cularitie I do well remember, that after your Lordſhip was named for the place in *Ireland*, & not long before your going, it pleaſed her Maieſtie at *White hall* to ſpeak to mee of that nomination: at which time I ſaid to her: Surely Madame, if you meane not to imploy my Lord of *Eſſex* thither againe, your Maieſtie cannot make a better choiſe, and was going on to ſhew ſome reaſon; and her Maieſtie interrupted mee with great paſſion: *Eſſex*! (ſaid ſhe) whenſoeuer I ſend *Eſſex* back again into *Ireland*, I will marrie you, claime it of me: whereunto I ſaid; Well Madame, I will releaſe that contract if his going bee for the good of your State. Immediately after the Queen had thought of a courſe (which was

alſo executed) to haue ſomewhat publiſhed in the Starre-chamber, for the ſatisfaction of the world touching my Lord of *Eſſex* his reſtraint, and my Lord of *Eſſex* not to be called to it, but occaſion to be taken by reaſon of ſome Libels then diſperſed; which when her Maieſtie propounded vnto me, I was vtterly againſt it; and told him plainely, that the people would ſay, that my Lord was wounded vpon his backe, and that Iuſtice had her ballance taken from her which euer conſiſted of an accuſation and defence, with many other quicke and ſignificant tearms to that purpoſe: in ſo much that I remember I ſaid, that my Lord *in foro famæ* was too heard for her; and therefore wiſhed her as I had done

before

before, to wrap it vp priuately. And certainly I offended her at that time, which was rare with me: for I cal to mind that both the *Christmas*, *Lent*, and *Easter* Terme following, though I came diuers times to her vpon law busines, yet me thought her face and maner was not so cleare and open to me, as it was at the first. And she did directly charge me, that I was absent that day at the Starre-chamber, which was very true; but I alleged some indisposition of bodie to excuse it: and during all the time aforesaid, there was *altum silentium* from her to mee touching my Lord of *Essex* causes.

But towardes the end of Easter tearme, her Maiestie brake with me, and told me that she had found my words

words, true for that the proceeding in the Starre chamber had done no good, but rather kindled factious bruites (as she tearmed them) then quenched them, and therefore that she was determined now for the satisfactiō of the world, to proceed against my Lord in the Star-chamber by an information *ore tenus*, and to haue my lord brought to his answer: howbeit she said she wold assure me that whatsoeuer she did, should be towards my Lord *ad castigationem, & non ad destructionē*, as indeed she had often repeated the same phrase before: whereunto I said (to the end vtterly to diuert her:) Madam if you wil haue me speake to you in this argument, I must speak to you as Frier *Bacons* head spake, that said first,

Time

Time is, and then, *Time was*, and, *time would neuer be*; for certainely (said I) it is now far to late, the mater is cold and hath taken too much winde; whereat she seemed againe offended and rose from me, & that resolution for a while continued; and after, in the beginning of Midsomer tearme, I attending her, and finding her setled in that resolution (which I heard of also otherwise), shee falling vpon the like speech, it is true, that seeing no other remedie, I said to her slightly, Why Madame, if you will needs haue a proceeding, you were best haue it in some such sort as *Ouid* spake of his mistris, *Est aliquid luce patẽte minus*, to make a counsel table matter of it, and there an end; which speech again she seemed to take in ill

part, but yet I thinke it did good at that time; and holpe to diuert that course of proceeding by informatiō in the Starre chamber. Neuertheles afterwards it pleased her to make a more solemne matter of the proceeding, and some few dayes after when order was giuen that the matter shold be hard at *York* house, before an assembly of Counsellers, Peeres, and Iudges, and some audience of men of qualitie to be admitted: and then did some principal Counsellers send for vs of the learned Counsell, and notifie her Maiesties pleasure vnto vs, saue that it was said to me openly by one of thē, that her Maiesty was not yet resolued whether she would haue me forborne in to busines or no. And hereupon might arise

that

that other ſiniſter and vntrue peech that I heare is raiſed of mee, how I was a ſuter to bee vſed againſt my Lord of *Eſſex* at that time: for it is very true, that I that knew well what had paſſed betweene the Queene & mee, and what occaſion I had giuen her both of diſtaſt & diſtruſt, in croſſing her diſpoſitiõ, by ſtanding ſtedfaſtly for my Lord of *Eſſex*, & ſuſpecting it alſo to be a ſtratagem ariſing from ſome particular emulation, I write to her two or three words of complement, ſignifying to her Maieſtie, that if ſhe would be pleaſed to ſpare me in my Lord of *Eſſex* cauſe, out of the conſideratiõ ſhe tooke of my obligation towards him, I ſhold rekõ it for own of her higheſt fauors: but otherwiſe deſiring her Maieſtie

to

to thinke that I knew the degrees of duties, and that no particular obligatiō whatsoeuer to any subiect could supplant or weaken that entirenes of dutie that I did owe and beare to her and her seruice; & this was the goodly sute I made, being a respect no mā that had his wittes could haue omitted: but neuertheless I had a further reach in it, for I iudged that dayes worke would be a full period of any bitternesse or harshnes between the Queen & my Lord, & therefore if I declared my selfe fully according to her mind at that time, which could not do my Lord any manner of prejudice, I should keepe my credit with her euer after, whereby to doe my Lord seruice. Here vpon the next news that I heard, was, that we were

all

all ſent for againe, and that her Maieſties pleaſure was, wee all ſhould haue parts in the buſineſſe; and the Lords falling into diſtribution of our parts, it was allotted to me, that I ſhould ſet foorth ſome vndutifull cariage of my Lord, in giuing occaſion and countenance to a ſeditious Pamphlet, as it was tearmed, which was dedicated vnto him, which was the book before mentioned of king *Henry* the fourth. Whereupon I replyed to that allotment, and ſaid to their Lordſhips, that it was an old matter, and had no manner of coherence with the reſt of the charge, being matters of *Ireland*, and therefore that I hauing beene wronged by bruits before, this wold expoſe mee to them more; and it would bee ſaid,

I gaue in euidence mine owne tales. It was answered againe with good shew, that because it was considered how I stood tyed to my Lord of *Essex*, therefore that part was thought fittest for mee which did him least hurt: for that wheras all the rest was matter of charge and accusation, this onely was but matter of caueat and admonition. Wherewith though I was in mine one mind little satisfied, because I knew wel a man were better to bee charged with some faults, then admonished of some others: yet the conclusion binding vpon the Queenes pleasure directly, *volens nolens*, I could not auoid that part that was laid vpon me; which part if in the deliuerie I did handle not tenderly (though no man bee-

fore

fore me did in so cleare tearmes free my Lord from al disloyaltie as I did) that your Lordship knoweth, must bee ascribed to the superiour dutie I did owe to the Queenes fame and honour in a publike proceeding, and partly to the intention I had to vphold my self in credit and strength with the Queene, the better to be able to doe my Lord good offices afterwards: for assoone as this day was past, I lost no time, but the very next day following (as I remember) I attended her Maiesty, fully resolued to try and put in vre my vtmost indenour (so farre as in my weakneſſe could giue furtherance) to bring my Lord againe speedily into Court & into fauour, and knowing (as I supposed at least) how the Queene was

to bee vſed, I thought that to make her conceiue that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leaue off there; and I remember wel, I ſaid to her, you haue now Madame obtained victorie ouer two things which the greateſt Princes in the world cannot at their wills ſubdue: the one is ouer Fame, the other is ouer a great mind: for ſurely the world is now (I hope) reaſonably well ſatisfied; and for my Lord, hee did ſhew that humiliation towardes your Maieſtie, as I am perſwaded he was neuer in his life time more fit for your fauor then he is now: therfore if your Maieſtie will not marre it by lingring, but giue ouer at the beſt, and now you haue made ſo good a full point, receiue him againe

with

with tenderneſſe, I ſhall then thinke that all that is paſt, is for the beſt. Wherat I remember ſhe took exceeding great contentment, and did often iterate and put me in mind, that ſhe had euer ſaid, that her proceedings ſhould be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*, as who ſaith, that now was the time I ſhould well perceiue, that that ſaying of hers ſhould proue true. And further ſhee willed me to ſet downe in writing all that paſſed that day. I obeyed her commandement, and within ſome fewe daies brought her againe the narration, which I did reade vnto her at two ſeuerall after-noones: and when I came to that part that ſet forth my Lords owne anſwer, (which was my principall care) I doe well beare in

mind, that ſhee was extraordinarily mooued with it, in kindneſſe and relenting towards my Lord, and told me afterwards (ſpeaking how well I had expreſſed my Lords part) that ſhee perceiued old loue would not eaſily be forgotten: wherto I anſwered ſuddenly, that I hoped ſhee meant that by her ſelfe. But in concluſion, I did aduiſe her, that now ſhe had taken a repreſentation of the matter to her ſelfe, that ſhee would let it goe no further: for Madame (ſaid I) the fire blazeth well alreadie, what ſhould you tumble it: and beſides it may pleaſe you keepe a conuenience with your ſelfe in this caſe: for ſinee your expreſſe directiō was, there ſhould bee no Regiſter nor Clearke to take this ſentence, nor no record

record or memoriall made vp of the proceeding, why ſhould you now do that popularly, which you would not admitte to bee done iudicially? Whereupon ſhe did agree, that that writing ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and I thinke there were not fiue perſons that euer ſaw it. But from this time foorth during the whole latter end of that Sommer, while the Court was at *Nonſuch* and *Otlands*, I made it my taske and ſcope to take and giue occaſions for my Lords reintegration in his fortune: which my intention I did alſo ſignifie to my Lord, aſſoone as euer he was at his libertie; whereby I might without perill of the Queenes indignation write to him, and hauing receiued from his Lordſhip a courteous and

louing acceptation of my good will and indeuours, I did apply it in all my acceſſes to the Queene, which were very many at that time, and purpoſely ſought and wrought vpon other variable pretences, but onely and cheifelie for that purpoſe. And on the other ſide, I did not forbeare to giue my Lord from time to time faithfull aduertiſement what I found, and what I wiſhed. And I drew for him by his appointment ſome letters to her Maieſtie, which though I knew well his Lordſhipes gift and ſtile was farre better then mine owne, yet becauſe he required it, alleaging that by his long reſtraint he was growne almoſt a ſtranger to the Queens preſent conceipts, I was readie to performe it: and ſure I am

that

that for the ſpace of ſixe weekes, or two moneths it proſpered ſo well, as I expected continually his reſtoring to his attendance. And I was neuer better welcome to the Queene, nor more made of, then when I ſpake fulleſt and boldeſt for him: in which kind the particulars were exceeding many, whereof for an example I will remember to your Lordſhip one or two; as at one time I call to mind, her Maieſtie was ſpeaking of a fellow that vndertook to cure, or at leaſt, to eaſe my brother of his goute, and aſked me how it went forwards; and I told her Maieſtie, that at the firſt hee receiued good by it, but after in the courſe of his cure he found himſelfe at a ſtay or rather worſe: the Queene ſaid againe, I will tell you *Bacon* the

error

error of it, the maner of these Phisitions and especially these Empericks is to continue one kind of medicine, which at the first is proper, being to draw out the ill humor, but after they haue not the discretion to chaunge their medicine, but apply still drawing medicines, when they shold rather intend to cure and corroborate the part. Good Lord Madame (said I) how wisely and aptly can you speake and discerne of Phisicke ministred to the bodie, and consider not that there is the like occasion of Phisicke ministred to the mind: as now in the case of my Lord of *Essex*, your Princely word euer was, that you intended euer to reforme his mind, and not ruine his fortune: I know well you cannot

but

but think that you haue drawne the humor ſufficiently, and therefore it were more then time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying or exulcerating, that you did apply and miniſter ſtrength and comfort vnto him: for theſe ſame gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt then correct any mind of greatneſſe. And an othertime I remember ſhee told mè for newes, that my Lord had written vnto her ſome very dutifull letters, and that ſhe had beene moued by them, and when ſhee tooke it to be the abundance of the heart, ſhee found it to be but a preparatiue to a ſuite for the renuing of his farme of Sweet wines: whereunto I replyed; O Madame, how doth your Maieſtie conſter of theſe things, as if theſe

two could not ſtand well together, which indeed nature hath plãted in all creatures. For there are but two ſympathies, the one towards *Perfection*, the other towards *Preſeruation*. That to Perfection, as the iron contendeth to the Loadſtone: that to Preſeruation, as the vine will creepe towards a ſtake or prop that ſtands by it, not for any loue to the ſtake, but to vphold it ſelfe. And therefore Madame, you muſt diſtinguiſh my Lords deſire to doe you ſeruice, is as to his perfection, that which he thinkes himſelf to be born for: whereas his deſire to obtaine this thing of you, is but for a ſuſtentation. And not to trouble your Lordſhip with many other particulars like vnto theſe, it was at the ſelfe

ſame

ſame time that I did draw with my Lords priuitie, and by his appointment, two letters, the one written as from my brother, the other as an anſwer returned from my Lord, both to be by me in ſecret maner ſhewed to the Queene, which it pleaſed my Lord very ſtrangely to mention at the barre: the ſcope of which were but to repreſent and picture foorth vnto her Maieſty my Lords mind to be ſuch, as I knew her Maieſtie wold faineſt haue had it, which letters whoſoeuer ſhal ſee, (for they cannot now be retracted or altered, being by reaſon of my brothers, or his Lordſhipes ſeruantes deliuerie, long ſince comen into diuerſe hands) let him iudge, ſpecially if hee knew the Queene, and doe remember thoſe

times

times, whether they were not the labors of one that fought to bring the Queen about for my Lord of *Essex* his good. The troth is, that the issue of all his dealing grew to this: that the Queene by some slackness of my Lords, as I imagine, liked him worse and worse, and grew more incensed towards him. Then, shee remembring belike the continuall, and incessant, and confident speeches and courses that I had held on my Lords side, became vtterly alienated from me, & for the space of (at least) three moneths, which was betweene Michaelmas and Newyears tide following, would not as much as looke on me, but turned away frō me with expresse and purpose-like discountenance whersoeuer shee

saw

ſaw me: and at ſuch time as I deſired to ſpeake with her about Law buſineſſe, I euer ſent me forth very ſlight refuſals, inſomuch as it is moſt true, that immediately after Newyeares tide I deſired to ſpeake with her; and being admitted to her, I dealt with her plainely and ſaid: Madame I ſee you withdraw your fauour from me, and now I haue loſt many friendes for your ſake, I ſhall leeſe you too: you haue put mee like one of thoſe that the Frenchmen call *Enfans perdus*, that ſerue on foote before horſmen, ſo haue you put me into matters of enuy without place, or without ſtrength: and I know at Cheſſe a pawn before the king, is euer much plaid vpon: a great many loue mee not, becauſe they thinke I haue bene

against my Lord of *Essex*; and you loue mee not, because you know I haue beene for him: yet will I neuer repent mee, that I haue dealt in simplicitie of heart towards you both, without respect of cautions to my selfe: and therefore *vivus videnſque pereo*. If I do breake my necke, I shall do it in a maner as Maister *Dorrington* did it, which walked on the battlements of the Church many daies, and tooke a veiw and suruey where he should fall: and so Madame (said I) I am not so simple, but that I take a prospect of mine ouerthrow, only I thought I would tell you so much, that you may know that it was faith, and not folly that brought mee into it, and so I will pray for you. Vpon which speeches of mine vttered

with

with some passion, it is true her Maiestie was exceedingly moued, and accumulated a number of kind and gratious words vpon mee, and willed mee to rest vpon this, *Gratia mea sufficit*, and a number of other sensible and tender words and demonstrations, such as more could not be; but as touching my Lord of *Essex*, *ne verbum quidem*. Wherupon I departed, resting then determined to meddle no more in the matter; as that, that I saw would ouerthrowe me, and not be able to doe him any good. And thus I made mine owne peace with mine owne confidence at that time; and this was the last time I saw her Maiestie, before the eight of *Februarie*, which was the day of my Lord of *Essex* his misfortune.

time. after which time, for that I performed at the barre in my publike seruice, your Lordship knoweth by the rules of duty, that I was to do it honestly, and without preuarication: but for any putting my selfe into it, I protest before God, I neuer moued neither the Queene, nor any person liuing concerning my being vsed in the seruice, either of euidence or examination: but it was meerely laid vpon mee with the rest of my fellowes. And for the time which passed, I meane betweene the arraignement and my Lords suffering, I well remember I was but once with the Queene; at what time though I durst not deale directly for my Lord as things then stood; yet generally I did both commend her

Maiestie

Maiesties mercie, rearming it to her as an excellent balme that did cõtinually distill from her Soueraigne hands, and made an excellent odour in the senses of her people: and not onely so, but I tooke hardinesse to extenuate, not the fact; for that I durst not, but the danger, telling her that if some base or cruell minded persons had entred into such an action, it might haue caused much bloud and combustion: but it appeared well they were such as knew not how to play the malefactors, & some other words which I now omit. And as for the rest of the cariage of my selfe in that seruice, I haue many honorable witnesses that can tel, that the next day after my Lords arraignement, by my diligence and

information touching the qualitie and nature of the offendors, ſixe of nine were ſtayed, which otherwiſe had bene attainted, I bringing their Lordſhipps letter for their ſtay, after the Iurie was ſworne to paſſe vpon them; ſo neare it went: and how carefull I was, and made it my part, that whoſoeuer was in trouble about that matter, aſſoone as euer his caſe was ſufficiently knowne & defined of, might not continue in reſtraint, but be ſet at libertie: and many other parts, which I am well aſſured of ſtood with the duty of an honeſt man. But indeede I will not deny for the caſe of Sir *Thomas Smith* of *London*, the Queene demaunding my opinion of it, I told her, I thought it was as hard as many

of the reſt: but what was the reaſon? becauſe at that time I had ſeene only his accuſation, and had neuer beene preſent at any examination of his: and the matter ſo ſtanding, I had bin very vntrue to my ſeruice, if I had not deliuered that opinion. But afterwards vppon a reexamination of ſome that charged him, who weakned their owne teſtimonie; and eſpecially hearing himſelfe *viua voce*, I went inſtantly to the Queene out of the ſoundneſſe of my conſcience, and not regarding what opinion I had formerly deliuered, told her Maieſtie, I was ſatisfied and reſolued in my conſcience, that for the reputation of the action, the plot was to countenance the action further by him in reſpect of his place, then they

had indeede any interest or intelligence with him. It is very true also, about that time her Maiesty taking a liking of my pen, vpon that which I had done before concerning the proceeding at *York house*, and likewise vpon some other declarations, which in former times by her appointment I put in writting, commaunded mee to penne that booke, which was published for the better satisfaction of the world: which I did, but so, as neuer Secretarie had more particular, and expresse directions, and instructions in euery point how to guide my hand in it: and not onely so, but after that I had made a first draught therof and propounded it to certaine principall Councellers, by her Maiestics appoint-

pointment, it was puruſed, weighed, cenſured, altered, and made almoſt anew, writing according to their Lordſhippes better conſideration, wherein their Lordſhippes and my ſelfe both were as religious & curious of truth, as deſirous of ſatisfaction: and my ſelfe indeed gaue only words and forme of ſtile in purſuing their direction. And after it had paſſed their allowance, it was againe exactly peruſed by the Queen her ſelfe, and ſome alterations made againe by her appointment: nay, and after it was ſet to print, the Queene, who as your Lordſhippe knoweth, as ſhee was excellent in great maters, ſo ſhe was exquiſite in ſmall: and noted that I could not forget my ancient reſpect to my

Lord of *Essex*, in terming him euer My Lord of *Essex*, My Lord of *Essex*, in almost euery page of the booke, which she thought not fit, but wold haue it made, *Essex*, or the late Earle of *Essex*: whereupon of force it was printed *de nouo*, and the first copies suppressed by her peremptorie commaundement. And this my good Lord, to my furthest remembrance, is all that passed wherein I had part, which I haue set downe as neare as I could in the very words and speeches that were vsed, not because they are worthie the repetition, I mean those of mine owne; but to the end your Lordship may liuely and plainly discerne betweene the face of truth, and a

smooth

smooth tale. And the rather also because in things that passed a good while since, the very wordes and phrases did sometimes bring to my remembrance the matters, wherein I report mee to your Honourable judgement, whether you doe not see the traces of an honest man: and had I bene as well beleeued either by the Queen or by my Lord, as I was well heard by them both, both my Lord had bin fortunate, & so had my selfe in his fortune.

To conclude therefore, I humbly pray your Lordshippe to pardon mee for troubling you with this long Narration, and that you will vouchsafe to hold mee in your good opinion, till you know I haue deserued

deserued, or find that I shall deserue the contrarie; and euen so I continue

At your Lordships Honorable commaundement very humbly.

FINIS.